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TRANSLATIONS OF KUANG MIN JIH-
PAO ARTICLES ON EDUCATIONAL AND
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TRANSLATIONS OF KUANG MIN JIH-
PAO ARTICLES ON EDUCATIONAL AND
ECONOMIC SUBJECTS

[The following are full translations of selected
articles in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, 31, May and 2 and 6 June
1960.]

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VIGOROUSLY TRAIN COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS
TO BECOME "RED" AND "PROFICIENT"

[The following is a full translation of a report prepared by the Correspondence Section of the Committee on Higher Education of the Chinese Communist Party in Ch'eng-tu City, as published in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peiping, 31 May 1960, page 3.]

To meet the needs of higher education's speedy development adhering to the ideology of Mao Tse-tung, Party organizations in the institutions of higher learning in Ch'eng-tu City have for years rid themselves of superstition, have liberated their thinking, and have vigorously trained and fully utilized the new-born force, which has grown by leaps and bounds. This force has profoundly altered the face of political thinking and the work of the institutions.

At present, in the fifteen institutions of higher learning, more than 80 percent of the instructors and more than 60 percent of the professors, assistant professors, and directors of research laboratories have come from the new-born force. In some institutions the ratio has reached even 70 percent.

Under the leadership of the Party, young instructors have become a back-bone force of the institutions where the Party is carrying out various educational measures and an educational revolution. In instruction, scientific research, and other aspects of the work, the instructors have gradually developed their usefulness.

Many research sections or scientific research units, either partly or fully staffed by the new-born force, have become advanced collective bodies. In instruction, more than 70 percent of the course of study are taught by young instructors.

They have relied upon the collective force to reform the contents and methods of instruction, and have substantially raised the quality and quantity of the instructors. Many young instructors are superior to the old ones.

In the University of Szechwan, 80 percent of the most successful, 81 courses of study are taught by such young instructors. Since 1958, new specialized fields have opened to students in all the institutions of higher learning in Ch'eng-tu. More than 90 percent of the work in these fields is done by the young instructors.

After a period of serious study, the young instructors developed specialized knowledge and technique. They compiled outlines of teaching materials, and began appropriate course of study. At the same time, they invented equipment for experiments and set up many specialized laboratories.

At Ch'eng-tu Engineering College, during the earlier period, there were only four young instructors, transferred from other specialized fields. However, under the leadership of the Party, they learned and worked at the same time. In a year's time, they completed the teaching preparation for six specialized courses, set up four specialized laboratories, and conducted fourteen scientific research projects, of which ten were completed and four were applied to production.

In scientific research, the new-born force is already as strong as the main strength of an army. Most of the workload in the scientific research projects of the city's institutions of higher learning have been carried on by the young instructors. Because of their courage in promoting reform and creation, in advancing new ideas, and in adopting new methods, young instructors have rapidly completed scientific projects which no capitalist intellectual hitherto dared think of and work on.

For instance, some ten young instructors in the Section of Inorganic Chemistry at the University of Szechwan conducted a study on rare chemical elements and wrote 24 papers on this subject.

At Ch'eng-tu Engineering College, Teng Fu-shen, a young instructor, together with his students, after conquering great difficulties, completed a series of significant research projects concerning the technique of electronic computation. He has written a textbook on the "transitory electrical process of the electronic machine," which, based upon actual productive conditions in China, reflects the

newest and higher-level achievement. In technical reform and the technical revolutionary movement, the young instructors, joining hands with labor and agriculture, have been zealously engaged in creative and inventive work and have made marvelous achievements.

The young instructors and their students in the Department of Mechanical Engineering at the same institution jointly designed and produced, in cooperation with factory workers, coils of wire, cog-wheels, driving belts, and other automatic production lines. This greatly raised the rate of productivity, saved labor and equipment, and improved the quality and quantity of the products. By the same token, they enriched the instruction and study program and pushed ahead their various reforms.

Through teaching and learning, scientific research, and the practice of productive labor, multitudes of young instructors rapidly raised the standards of scientific technique and the capacity of practical work by relying on the collective force as well as by learning while doing. With respect to the cultivation of the new-born force, we insist on the direction of becoming "red" and "proficient," thus thoroughly realizing the principle of mixing the red with the proficient--a combination of politics with business matters.

Organizing the young instructors to participate in the campaign of political thinking and insisting on the study of political theory--especially the organization of all young instructors to conduct an intensive study of Chairman Mao's writings since the beginning of the current year--have brought forth a high tide of studying Mao's writings, reforms of teaching and learning, and the criticism of art and knowledge. With the ideology of Mao Tse-tung as guidance for the reforms of teaching and learning and for the criticism of art and knowledge, and with the existing system of training in manual work, a large group of young instructors are dispatched each year to factories or villages for training.

Moreover, they are organized to participate in social activities so that they will receive training in practice. All these measures have enhanced their political awareness and thought level.

At present, more than 70 percent of the young instructors are members of the Party and the League [Youth League]. In the course of cultivating the new-born force, we have continued to struggle against the line of the capitalist specialists. We have criticized it especially in time of educational revolution.

Simultaneously, from the practical work of teaching and learning, scientific research, and other fields, we have done everything we can to cultivate the new-born force and to bring up a group of young instructors, alert and hard-working, to fill the positions of leading workers in the departments and the teaching and research sections. This is one step toward dispelling blind confidence in the ability of the capitalist specialists and accelerating the growth of the new-born force.

To cultivate this force and, at the same time to freely use it, we have to concentrate on educating and reforming the capitalist intellectuals and developing their usefulness. At present, many of them have made discernible progress both in their practical thinking and in business matters.

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN TIBET IN THE PAST YEAR

[The following is a full translation of a report prepared by FANG Ch'ih-hsin, Director of Information of the Committee on Tibetan Work in the Chinese Communist Party, as published in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peiping, 2 June 1960, page 5.]

It has been a year since the suppression of the armed rebellion of the upper reactionary clique in Tibet. During this time, Tibet has undergone a great social change; democratic reform in the whole area has won a decisive victory and has enthusiastically brought forth a high tide of production. Following the victory of democratic reform and the development of production, culture and education in Tibet also entered a new stage.

During past years, in a society of feudal peasant-slaves, culture and education, controlled by the feudal masters of slaves, served the purpose of strengthening the masters' status of exploitation. At that time the principal educational institutions were lamaseries and schools, which had been founded for aristocratic children. Even in a lamasery, lamas, who were born in the family of a peasant-slave or slave, were not given any opportunity for schooling. Literature and art were also controlled and monopolized by the class of masters.

This class forced the accomplished literati and artists among the people to slave in various ways and to entertain them. However, in such a society the working, prudent Tibetan people built their own culture in defiance of the class of masters. They used song, dance, and drama to express their own miseries and discontent, to convey their defiance to exploitation and repression, and to indicate their eagerness for the pursuit of happiness. They zealously demanded removal of the yoke like a mountain that befell them, and wanted to stand up like masters of their land, society, and culture.

After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the Party did many things for the Tibetan working people. There have been no exceptions in the fields of culture and education.

Prior to the suppression of the rebellion, there were twelve primary schools and one middle school affording some two thousand Tibetan and Mohammedan children an opportunity of education.

Many children from the families of poor peasant-slaves and slaves have received full scholarships at school. The Cultural Workers' Corps and Motion Picture Projection Teams have done their best to entertain the masses of the working people. Nevertheless, the upper reactionary clique's obstructions, just as impediments placed upon other related activities, have greatly restricted the cultural and educational activities which the Party has planned for the Tibetan working people.

Nevertheless, after the peaceful liberation of Tibet, under the influence of the Party, the working people's demand for cultural liberation, following their demands for fulfilling economic and political aspirations, has grown faster and stronger.

Since the suppression of the rebellion, the mountain that befell the Tibetan working people has been removed, and the stumbling block that retards the progress of Tibet has been swept away. Under present circumstances, culture and education in Tibet, like other fields of endeavor, have made discernible strides.

First of all, the Party, based upon present conditions in Tibet and the working people's demand for liberation, has laid down a two-legged policy for promoting primary education, with private schools supplemented by public schools playing a key role.

It is under this policy that, within the short period of one year, the whole area has witnessed a high tide of the mass-administered schools. The people-administered primary schools and mass night class have spread like bamboo shoots after a rain in the spring. As shown by the statistics of Lhasa, Shigatze, Nan Shan, Nagrong, Labtze, and Aling Gangri alone, there are 456 people-administered primary schools. Construction of these has already completed.

The total number of students is estimated at about 21,300--an increase of 10 percent over the number before

the suppression of the rebellion. According to the incomplete statistics of the same areas, there are 128 mass night schools, with an enrollment of over 8,926 youths and middle-aged.

In addition to these achievements, ten public primary schools have been established and a teacher training class has been conducted.

Under the leadership of the Party, the spare-time cultural and artistic activities of the liberated working people have been universally developed. The Tibetan people have long been noted for singing and dancing. Having thrown off the yoke imposed upon them by the class of the masters of peasant-slaves under the leadership of the Party, their artistic talent has developed greatly.

During the past year, in Lhasa, Chambo, Gyantze, and many other areas, mass spare-time dramatic clubs and dramatic performance teams have been widely established. To meet needs at different stages, many plays of a highly militant nature have been written and widely acted by these dramatic clubs and teams before the masses. These have become a powerful tool for the masses' self-education.

The Dramatic Performance Corps in Lhasa City, for example, once utilized a real story in a play "The Lot of A Bully," which exposed the cruel persecution of the working people by the class of the masters of peasant-slaves. The story pointed out that only under the leadership of the Party could the working people obtain liberation. This play stepped up a powerful political mobilization among the masses during the "three-anti and two-reducing" campaign in Lhasa City.

In addition, songs and dances which have been edited and performed by dramatic clubs in various localities and which have adored the Party, Chairman Mao, and the new life, are like twinkling stars in the sky. They are too numerous to be mentioned here.

In the Nan Shan area, there an entirely new Tibetan drama exists. This is incomplete accord with the concepts of modern life. This new type of drama exposes the crimes of the rebellious elements and the cruelty of the masters of peasant-slaves. It also extols the new life of the

post-liberation period. Mention should be also be made of gradual acceptance by Tibetan people of the new drama and other forms of arts.

Simultaneous with the mass campaign for promoting the people's cultural and educational activities, the Party, based upon present conditions in Tibet, has increased the number of public schools, professional cultural work corps, and motion picture projection teams. It has conducted investigations of the cultural heritage in various localities. Before the suppression of the rebellion, it was almost impossible for cultural work corps and motion picture projection teams to reach the masses.

Now, however, in areas where communication is well developed, multitudes of peasants and herdmen are able to see their performances. During the year following the suppression of the rebellion, their total number exceeded 1,600,000.

Besides, for the first time, a new type of drama has emerged in Tibet. As we know, the Tibetans originally have many excellent dramatic programs. These will soon undergo revision and shine brilliantly in China's blooming garden of all arts.

Under the splendeur of the Party's general line, Tibetan culture and education, following the sure victory of dramatic reform and the complete development of socialist affairs, will soon leap forward alongside the cultural and educational activities throughout China's various provinces and areas.

POLITICS IS THE LIFE-LINE OF
ALL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

[The following is a full translation of an article written by SHEN Liao-chin, as published in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peiping, 6 June 1960, page 6.]

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in one of the commentaries in a book entitled Hightide of Socialism in the Chinese Village, writes: "Politics is the life-line of all economic activities. It is more so when the socio-economic system undergone a fundamental change."¹ Such a thought, as developed by Comrade Mao, is a brilliant development of Marxism-Leninism concerning the principles of dialectical relations between economics and politics and between the base and the superstructure.

Marxism-Leninism recognize that politics is a superstructure built upon a foundation of economics, and that it serves the economic foundation. Bourgeois politics, while concentrating on realization of the economic interests of the bourgeoisie, serves to protect and stabilize the economic foundation of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian politics, while concentrating on realization of the fundamental interests of the working people, protects and develops the economic foundation of socialism.

Only after establishing its own political control can the proletariat use state power to put an end to the economic foundation of capitalism and to establish that of socialism for developing social productive forces.

It is in this sense that Lenin teaches us: "Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Politics should come before economics. Failure to stick to this point overlooks the most elementary principle of Marxism." He also says, "If a class fails to handle its problems from the standpoint of politics, it cannot sustain its rule, and, therefore, will not be able to fulfill its responsibility of production."²

Based on the practice of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, Comrade Mao has creatively

applied and developed this principle, and has considered politics as the life-line of all economic activities. That is to say, politics must be the soul of, and must play a pivotal role in all economic activities, and the absolute leadership of the Party must be put in practice. Only by so doing can we assure the leap forward and the development of economic activities along the correct road.

During the period of socialist construction and socialist revolution, our central task is to transform and adjust productive relations at the right time, to sufficiently develop the superiority of productive relations, and to further incessant development of productivity, thus hastening the construction of socialism and preparing conditions for a transition to communism.

The reason politics should become the life-line of all economic activities is plain. First of all, during the transitional period, based upon the demands for developing productivity and for transforming and adjusting productive relations, there will inevitably exist two opposing roads which lead to an economic, political, and ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism.

It is impossible for us to avoid the obstructions and resistance of the remnant superstructure of the old society. The political work of the Party is thus aimed at eliminating obstructions and resistance and assuring successful establishment and continuous advance of the economic foundation of socialism in order to uninterruptedly increase production. This practice in China has proved that each time an important transformation of productive relations is achieved, it is brought about by a serious political and ideological struggle or struggles.

After the liberation of All China, the most important task on the economic front was to develop a socialist state economy and to work for socialist reform in agriculture, handicraft, and bourgeois industry and commerce. This changed the complex economic structure into an integrated socialist economic structure.

In the course of the transformation in economic relations, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and self-developed capitalism in the individual economy, there existed not only a sharpened economic struggle but also a serious political and ideological struggle.

It was this victory in the political and ideological struggle that assured victory in the economic struggle. For instance, when we carried on a serious political struggle against the bourgeoisie during the three-anti and five-anti campaign, repulsing its ruthless onslaught, and checking its illegal acts to disrupt the state economy, we also laid a foundation for effecting a socialist reform in bourgeois industry and commerce in 1956.

In the campaign of agricultural cooperativization, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, "From the very beginning, it has been a serious ideological and political struggle. Cooperatives will not be founded, if each does not undergo such a struggle. Even after the cooperative is founded, it still has to undergo many more struggles in order to stabilize itself."³

Therefore, "cooperatives should stress the successful performance of political work. The main purpose of political work is to educate the masses of peasants with socialist thought and criticize their bourgeois tendencies."⁴

In the village, the Party led the broad masses of the peasants in their uncompromising struggle against the landlords, wealthy peasants, reactionaries, corrupt elements, and the self-developed influence of capitalism. The Party also planned a long-term program for the peasants' political education, correctly and fully carried out its policy of cooperativization, and criticized rightist-opportunist thinking within the Party itself reflecting the self-developed bourgeois tendency of the wealthy middle peasants.

Only after a series of such events did the high tide of the state-wide agricultural cooperativization appear as well as the social reforms in handicraft and bourgeois industry and commerce.

It is, therefore, evident that prompt victory of the socialist revolution on the economic front was due to the Party's strengthening its leadership in such a task, intensifying its political work, and eliminating the obstructions and resistance of the remnant old superstructure. This assured transformation of the state ownership of the means of production brought about the 1956 leap forward in the national economy.

However, basic completion of the socialist reform in the ownership system of the means of production does not necessarily mean the end of the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. As pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "Class struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in ideology are continuous, adroit, and sometimes quite violent."⁵

Therefore, for the sake of strengthening and pushing one step further socialist productive relations and of removing the obstructions on the way of the incessant leap forward of productivity, it is still necessary for us to continue the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts.

Thus, it is clear that what happened in the past actually followed this pattern.

Shortly after basic completion of the socialist reform in the ownership system of the means of production, the rightists of the bourgeoisie, resenting the abolition of the exploitative system, launched a ruthless attack upon the Party in 1957. Through the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign, the people won a decisive victory in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts.

This victory greatly weakened the bourgeoisie's reactionary influence in politics and ideology and its obstructions on the development of the socialist economy. In this way, the fruits of the victory of the socialist revolution on the economic front were strengthened and a broad avenue was opened for the adjustment of productive relations and the prompt development of productivity.

For instance, in enterprises under the all-people ownership system, measures were taken to consolidate the leadership of the Party in economic activities, to criticize the thought of bureaucracy and unitism, to resolutely practice the bureau-director responsibility system under the leadership of the members of the Party committee [in the province], and to enforce the principles of "two-participating, one-correcting, and three-combining," etc.

Under such circumstances, we were able to improve human relations in socialist labor and develop genuine comrade-

ship and cooperation among the cadres, the technical personnel, and the masses of laborers. We were also able to get rid of the remnants of the mutually "slovenly," unitist, and bourgeois practices among various enterprises, and encourage the Communist manner of cooperation.

In short, this was the strengthened foundation of political ideology that brought about the great leap forward in industrial production in 1958. In the villages, widespread campaigns which promoted socialist and Communist education, deadly blows on the self-developed influence of village capitalism, and participation in labor and in the cultivation of the experimental farms by commune cadres and members greatly raised the awareness of the broad masses of the peasants, and excited their enthusiasm in labor.

This also improved the relationship between the cadres and the members of the communes, thus hastening the great leap forward in agricultural production and construction.

The proposal of the Party's general line of socialist construction further stimulated their socialist positiveness. Thus, under the great agricultural leap forward, and upon the foundation of five hundred million peasants' ever-increasing political awareness, came the demands for adjusting productive relations in the villages, realizing the people's communalization, and furthering the leap forward in industrial and agricultural production.

These facts made clear that adjustment of the relationship between the superstructure and the base is due to the decisive victory of the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, the leadership of the Party, and the strengthening of its political work, thus permitting further improvement and development of socialist productive relations and a speedy increase of productivity. Such have been the facets of the total leap forward in the national economy since 1958.

The problems of the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts can be solved only after a lengthy period of complicated struggles. In 1959, the struggle launched by the leadership of the Party against rightist opportunism was, in fact, the continuation of such a revolution. The Party developed the anti-rightist

struggle, further desecrated the bourgeois ideology, and brought to light Communist thought.

It also made the people throughout China realize the necessity of the Party's leadership in socialist construction and intensification of the mass campaign. This immediately raised the hightide of the great leap forward in socialist construction among the broad masses of the people, and accomplished, three years early, the goals of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The people throughout China held high the red flags of the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's commune, and spread everywhere the strong mass campaign in the technological revolution and changes. Simultaneously, the people's communes in various cities also enthusiastically expanded.

All these facts illustrate that strengthening the Party's leadership and its political work, incessant development of the political and ideological two-road struggle, strong emphasis upon political considerations in all kinds of economic activities are basic guarantees of continuous growth of productive relations and a continuous leap forward in productivity.

That politics should become the life-line of all economic activities is due to the fact that the high-speed development of the socialist economy depends upon sufficient development of the self-awareness, positiveness, and creativeness of the masses of the people.

In order to mobilize the positiveness and creativeness of the broad masses of the people, it is necessary for us to continuously augment the Party's political work.

Social affairs are affairs of self-awareness that concern tens of millions of people. Without the self-aware, positive, and creative activities of the masses of the people, there will not be any imposing socialist revolution and socialist construction. Man, as a laborer, creator, and user of productive implements, is the decisive factor in social productivity. To rouse a fighting, aggressive spirit in six hundred million people is to assure a continuous leap forward in socialist economy.

Besides resorting to the two-road struggle between socialism and capitalism, changing and adjusting at the right time productive relations and the superstructure, and eliminating obstructions that curb the growth of productive positiveness of the working people, in order to rouse the positiveness and great creative power of the broad masses in their economic activities we must carry out in our work the programs and policy of the Party, resolutely execute the Party's mass line, engage in the mass campaign, continuously educate the masses with socialism and communism, and effectively organize the strength of the people.

At this point, it is clear that to give a leading role to politics and strengthen the absolute leadership of the Party certainly has a decisive meaning.

The development of our national economy during the past ten years--especially the great leap forward since 1958--has supported this truth. During the past ten years, all the economic departments of China resolutely executed the Party's general line of socialist construction and a set of "walking-on-two-legs" policies.

The Party's general line reflected six hundred million people's strong desire for a change in their country's poor and backward conditions. Through its own experience it attached importance to the people's awareness, positiveness, and creativeness in conducting their social affairs.

The general line, including a set of "walking-on-two-legs" policies, opened the broadest battlefield for the masses of people participating in the affairs of socialist construction. Therefore, the Party's general line, once in the grasp of the masses, immediately became a tremendous material force.

Joined in by all economic departments, all enterprises resolutely executed in the Party's centralized leadership and worked out a practical method in connection with the mass campaign. Thus, under the inspiration of the general line and with a fighting, aggressive spirit, the people throughout China promptly raised the hightide of socialist construction, assuring an incessant leap forward in China's national economy.

This high-speed development of the national economy in the past two years could not be separated from the fact that the Party continuously educated the broad working masses with political thought. Having been educated with the anti-rightist struggle and the mass rectification campaign, the working masses' awareness for political thought and zeal for labor had been greatly roused.

On this foundation, the Party again presented to the people a series of slogans, such as getting rid of superstition, liberating thought, and bringing to light the Communist manner of being able to think, speak, and to act; encouraged revolutionized experiments and popularized inventions and creations; and summoned the people to stand by truth and fight for it.

Under the illustriousness of the revolutionary thought and the general line, the spirit and faces of the masses began to change. Swept away were the various types of superstition and all sense of self-abasement in human minds because of the foreign aggressors' subjugation during the past hundred years.

Development of the high spirit, the ability to think and act, encouragement of the Communist labor attitude, the tendency of Communist cooperation, the desire to learn and keep abreast with predecessors who had done worthy deeds, and assistance to their successors in the vigorous race to achievements--all these important spiritual conditions had brought about a great leap forward in the national economy during the past two years.

Since the beginning of 1960, the mass campaign in connection with the technological reform and revolution in China has been an indication of the flowering of this Communist thought or tendency.

In view of the foregoing facts, in order to do a good job in economics, to appropriately transform and adjust the relations of production, to swiftly develop productivity, to realize an uninterrupted leap forward in national economy, it is necessary to continuously expand the political and ideological two-road struggle, and to sufficiently rouse the self-awareness, positiveness, and great creative power of the masses of the people.

To accomplish these goals, first of all, it is necessary to retain the Party's absolute leadership in economic activities and other affairs, to place greater emphasis on politics, to resolutely execute the Party's general line, and to faithfully carry out the Party's mass line and the methods to perform it. That is to say, politics is the soul of, and plays a pivotal role in, all economic activities.

It is, therefore, evident that the remarks that "politics will not give us a single electronic tube, and political and ideological works fail to produce steel and foodstuffs" are extremely wrong. The great leap forward in industrial and agricultural production during the past two years has strongly rejected such harmful views that stress only material and operations, not man and politics.

It seems that certain people have seen "man as a factor." They still feel, however, that it does not rely upon the working of political ideology, but rather upon the material incentive, to rouse the productive positiveness of the working masses.

According to this group of people, the decisive factor that stimulates the development of production is labor's concern over the results of labor from the standpoint of personal material gain. The laborers consider distribution of labor as the great driving force that spurs the development of production.

Evidently, this is a mistaken viewpoint. Of course, at the present stage of socialism and upon the premise that politics plays a pivotal role in economic activities, it seems necessary to put in practice the theory that "each man does his best and receives distribution based upon labor."

However, if this theory becomes absolute and if the material incentive is viewed as the only driving force stimulating the positiveness of the working masses' production, then it will become an extremely harmful economic thought, which may deprive the people of their direction.

The theory of distribution based upon labor still retains a remnant bourgeois concept of legal right. It fails to show the correct relationship between individual present

profit and collective long-term profit; nor does it show great Communist ideals. Therefore, if we do not stress the education of political thought and merely emphasize distribution based upon labor and the material incentive, we will become short-sighted, will focus our attention solely on our personal gain or loss, and will confine ourselves to the "bourgeois narrow limit of profit."

At the same time, to the people who perform unequal labor and shoulder unequal family responsibility, distribution based upon labor still is a kind of "unequal profit."

Thus our most ideal and rational system of distribution is that "each man does his best and receives distribution based upon need." In fact, the stage of distribution based upon labor is gradually giving way, through a transitional period, to the stage of distribution based upon need.

Furthermore, if the theory of distribution based upon labor is not viewed from the thought that unifies the theory of the uninterrupted revolution and the theory of the development of different revolutionary stages without idealization, if we merely depend upon material incentive to encourage the positiveness of the working masses, and if we do not give the masses Communist education and hastily prepare material and spiritual conditions for entering the stage of communism from the stage of socialism, we will inactivate socialism.

For this reason, when we put in practice a system of distribution based upon labor, we have to stress educating the masses with Communist thought so that the productive positiveness of the working masses will be built on the foundation of their ever-increasing political awareness, thus gradually creating a social condition favorable to entering the stage of communism.

The facts are these: Since the great leap-forward, because of thoroughly carrying out the plan that politics plays a pivotal role in economic activities, because of the Party's greater emphasis on educating the masses with political thought, because of the foundation on which the masses continuously increase their political awareness, there has existed in labor a noble spirit of unselfishness.

The working masses, using the slogan of "working hard for a few years, and enjoying during the next ten thousand years," have forgotten their sleep and meals, have worked day and night, have disregarded compensation and conditions, and have given themselves difficult assignments and easy ones to others, faithfully and willingly carrying out the orders of the Party. It is this heroic spirit, based on their enthusiasm for work and communist teachings, that has brought about an over-all great leap forward in the national economy during the past two years, and the present nation-wide campaign for the technological revolution and transformation.

Let's ask now: If we do not insist that politics plays a pivotal role in all activities, if we do not continuously raise the communist awareness of the working masses, can we have such a labor attitude and such a promising prospect? If we merely rely on material incentive, can there be such bright prospects?

Therefore, for the sake of accelerating socialist construction and of paving the way for the transition to the stage of communism, we have to follow Comrade Mao's instruction: "Politics is the life-line of all activities."

In economic activities, we have to insist that politics plays its pivotal role, to combine the education of political thought with the material incentive, and to stress political thought. Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i pointed out: "The leadership of the Party is the integration of political and economic activities and of the masses' political education and the material incentive, with politics the soul playing a pivotal role."⁶

NOTES:

1. The Socialist Hightide in the Chinese Village, (Selection), page 255.
- 2 Lenin's Works, Vol. 32, pages 71-72.
- 3 The Socialist Hightide in the Chinese Village, Bk. I, page 123.

NOTES--Continued--

4. Ibid., page 321.
5. Mao Tse-tung, The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, The People's Publishers, pages 26-27.
6. Liu Shao-ch'i, The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China.

MALTHUS' THEORY OF POPULATION IS
THE MOST REACTIONARY SYSTEM OF
CAPITALIST THOUGHT

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Ch'ih-ch'iu, as published in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peiping, 2 June 1960, page 6.]

Recently learned circles in China have criticized and engaged in a struggle against Ma Yin-ch'u's "New Theory of Population," "Theory of All-Round Synthetic Balance," and other fallacious writings. This is a struggle between proletarian and capitalist world views and between socialist and capitalist roads. Ma, while attempting to minimize this struggle, claimed that his fallacious reasoning in regard to the population problem is purely an academic discussion.

In fact, the problem of population has, from the very beginning, been a problem of sharpened political struggle. Considering the Malthusian theory of population which Ma venerated, we know it is a product of the sharpened class struggle--a tool the capitalist class uses to relentlessly attack the working people.

Malthus' principal writing on the problem of population was published between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. At that time, the industrial revolution in England was at its zenith. It laid a technological foundation on large-machine industry for the capitalist mode of production, but the capitalist use of machines also deepened the contradictions of capitalism.

The development of capitalist machine production caused the bankruptcy of countless small producers, the unemployment of multitudes of laborers, and aggravation of class contradictions. At the same time, the capitalist revolution in France widely influenced England.

Therefore, during the last decade of the eighteenth century, a high tide in the movement of social reform as well as a criticism on the system of private ownership appeared in England.

In 1793, William Godwin wrote a book entitled Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness. It became a classic of the time. In this book, he proved the necessity of abolishing the system of private ownership and pointed out that the system was the chief source of all miseries.

Godwin's thought greatly alarmed the English feudal, aristocratic, and capitalist rulers of the time. In 1798, therefore, Rev. Thomas R. Malthus came out with his book "Essay on Population" to allay agitation on behalf of all exploiting classes. This infamous book on population by Malthus--to use Marx's words--is "a little book opposing the French and English revolutionary writers (such as Godwin, etc.), a kind of defense for pauperizing the working class."¹

The intensity of labor-capital conflicts, the French capitalist revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, the high tide of the movement of social reform in England, and the development of radical thought--all these facts brought about serious political struggles.

Malthus was the most reactionary thinker of the time. He started from the most putrid, reactionary, and exploitative class, and presented a viewpoint which was diametrically opposed to Godwin and other radical thinkers. He tried to defend and "proved" that, under the capitalist system, the miseries of the working people were not due to the existence of the exploitative system, but due to the existence of the exploitative system, but due to "human nature," that is, human intent not to limit the growth of population.

At the end of Chapter Seven of his "Essay on Population" (1st ed.), Malthus gave as the conclusion of his reasoning the following three points: (1) "the growth of population would naturally be limited by the supply of food;" (2) "the increase of food would frequently be followed by the increase of population;" (3) "the pressure of population would be checked by poverty and crimes, and there would, therefore, be a balance between the present growth of population and the supply of food." Malthus boasted that his falsified "law" of population was not temporary or short-term, but applicable to "contemporary human life and the human life of all ages and all countries."

Malthus' first point seems to be a sound statement and needs no further verification (Malthus himself certainly had not verified it.) Each man has a mouth, and so he has to feed it. That means he needs the means of subsistence. If there were no means of subsistence, or if there were more men than the supply of food, they would have to starve to death, or at least some of them would have to bear the starvation. The special feature in Malthus' whole "Essay on Population" is nothing but a string of so-called simple facts or reasonings, which he used to deceive others.

In short, one who does just a little thinking will instantly discover Malthus' gross errors. We ought to know that man in his relationship with the means of subsistence never acts passively, since he not only has a mouth but also a pair of hands. That is to say, man not only has the need of consuming the means of subsistence but also is capable of producing them.

It is an undeniable fact that the things man produces are more than those he consumes. It is this fact that makes possible the exploitative system in a class society, and that permits exploiters like Malthus to exist. Malthus completely neglected the basic fact that man is a producer, and from the most putrid and reactionary world view of the exploitative class he considered man as a mere consumer.

Since men are not mere consumers and since they are positive factors in production, it follows that what they produce is more than what they consume. The growth of population, therefore, is not to be "restricted" by the means of subsistence. From the very outset, Malthus' "interpretation" of the problem of the relationship between population and the means of subsistence was abstract and historically untrue, and his interpretation of the problem regarding the growth of population and the means of subsistence was, therefore, equally abstract and historically untrue.

We know that the tendency of the development of either population or the means of subsistence is controlled by the social system or institution. However, Malthus had never thought of this fact.

The second point he proposed is that the growth of population follows the growth of the means of subsistence,

yet, the growth of population is always faster than the growth of the means of subsistence. His interpretation in regard to this point is most abstract and historically untrue. He declared that the tendency of the fast multiplication of life that exceeds the limit permitted by the growth of food is a "law that applies to the animated world."

Malthus knew that it was not as easy for him to deceive other with this interpretation as he did with the interpretation of his first point. Therefore, he gave the following "statement" as "evidence": "Population, if unchecked, grows in a geometrical ratio; but man's means of subsistence grows in an arithmetical ratio."

He was looking for "data" to substantiate his reasoning on this point. He finally "discovered" that the United States doubled its population during a period of twenty-five years. Based upon this fact, he went on to say: "Population, if unchecked, will double every twenty-five years, or multiply in a geometrical ratio."

In fact, the figure he used to show the growth of population in the United States at that time was not reliable, because the increase of population was not due to natural multiplication, but due to immigration. Malthus tried hard to conceal the truth of this fact and recklessly attempted to achieve his end without selecting a proper means.

Malthus' assertion that the growth of population is in a geometrical ratio has no scientific basis. His assertion that the growth of the means of subsistence is more unscientific. He admitted that no available data could support his latter assertion.

Nevertheless, he arbitrarily assumed that the means of subsistence in London doubled during the first twenty-five years but did not multiply four times during the second twenty-five years. Just as he could not "assume" that the means of subsistence did multiply four times in the second twenty-five years, so he could not "assume" that the means of subsistence would multiply in the geometrical ratio.

Thus he had to say they multiplied in the arithmetical ratio. After a series of "assumptions" and "deductions," Malthus contentedly declared: "It is, therefore, proper when I say that the means of subsistence multiply in an arithmetical ratio."

It is now quite evident that Malthus proposition of the increase of the means of subsistence in the arithmetical ratio was a mere fabrication. Later his disciples started to use the so-called "law of diminishing returns of land" to support the theory of the slow growth of means of subsistence. Since the publication of his second edition of his "Essay on Population," Malthus frequently used this "law" as his own "theoretical basis." But this did not, in the slightest degree, save the doomed fate of Malthus' theory, because the law, like the assertion of the "increase of means of subsistence in the arithmetical ratio," was also a fabrication.

In the capitalist political economy, as we know, the so-called "law of diminishing returns of land" was based on wrong hypotheses: There was no change in the agricultural technique, and the progress of the technique was considered an exceptional case. Under the condition of the unchangeable technique, returns of the additional investment on the same piece of land certainly yielded less.

However, this condition should not be taken as a normal or typical phenomenon. When more productive means are added to the same piece of land so as to raise the rate of its agricultural output, this problem is clearly linked to the question of the development of the technique as well as to the new farming methods.

Therefore, Lenin said, "What we have seen is not a universal, but a highly relative law--so relative that it really cannot be called a law, not even a special feature."²

After Malthus toyed with his fabricated ideas of the increase of population in the geometrical ratio and the increase of the means of subsistence in the arithmetical ratio, he asserted that the miseries of the working class were not due to the capitalist social system, but due to "irrational" multiplication, resulting in the growth of population over that of the means of subsistence.

The third point proposed by Malthus, was to prove how multiplication of population could be limited. According to him, there were two positive checks: (1) poverty, and (2) crimes. In the second edition of his essay, however, he added one more check, that is, the "moral control," by which he meant the postponement of marriage and restriction of sexual life.

However, he soon felt that the so-called "moral control" could not be of great use, and the most effective checks were war, plague, famine, and other calamities because they would be able to reduce population and halt its multiplication, thus maintaining a balance between the growth of population and the supply of foodstuffs. For this reason, to Malthus, they are "philanthropies" for mankind.

Malthus' "Essay on Population" is extremely reactionary. To use Engels' words, it is "the capitalists' most blatant declaration of war on the proletariat."³ Malthus repudiated any possibility of progress for human society. According to his "theory," growth of population faster than supply of foodstuffs was a constant, natural "law," and any social reform to eliminate poverty and miseries would be futile.

Malthus openly admitted that he fabricated the "Essay on Population" merely to seduce the working class from the revolutionary struggle. He said, "If these truths (Malthus' "Essay on Population"--the writer) spread far and wide, the people of the lower class will be more sober and law-abiding; they cannot easily revolt when they do not have bread; highly provocative literature will not easily deceive them, for they know that there will be little hope to depend upon the revolution for raising their wages and living expenses."

According to Malthus' opinion, one of the most important institutions which capitalist economics propagates among the masses is that "the people have to be blamed for their own miseries."

Malthus' "Essay on Population" is actually a defense of the capitalist class' own incurable diseases--unemployment, poverty, etc. It is a tool that enslaves the working class mentally and ideologically. His rubbishy talk on population is built on the foundation of the fabricated

"law" of overpopulation, which is diametrically opposed to historical facts. Real life, however, has told us that there is no such thing as a constant law of population.

As pointed by Marx, a mode of production is necessarily accompanied by a specific historical law of population. A social law of population is not necessarily determined by features of the economic structure in society. The so-called over-population practically does not exist either under a capitalist or a different social system. Malthus' "law of absolute overpopulation," which arbitrarily asserts that the growth of population is faster than that of foodstuffs, is totally unfounded.

In fact, even under the capitalist system, the level of the development of productivity is capable of feeding the whole population. Evidently, in those countries where large quantities of products (including foodstuffs) have to be destroyed, there has been no shortage of means of subsistence.

Malthus willfully twisted the fact of overpopulation under the capitalist system, and called it "absolute overpopulation;" but what he had proved is actually "relative overpopulation." This situation was created by the capitalist law of accumulation, certainly not by his fabricated theory of the shortage of means of subsistence.

Under the capitalist system, because of the accumulation and the rise of the organic structure of capital, the demand for labor has relatively narrowed down, compared with the demand of the accumulation of capital. The result is that a large number of laborers become "unnecessary."

As the purpose of capitalist production is to seek profit, not to fulfill the needs of society, under the capitalist system manpower will not be adequately utilized. As a result, relative overpopulation or an army of labor reserves will exist.

Pressure exerted by relative overpopulation upon the labor market has permitted further exploitation of the laborers by raising labor intensity and by prolonging working hours. Raising of labor intensity has, in turn, made a comparatively small number of laborers perform the

original amount of work and has once more increased relative overpopulation.

Relative overpopulation has also been caused by pauperization of the laborers, since pauperization tends to compel the laborers to throw their wives and children into the labor market, thus sharpening the laborers' own competition.

In fact, relative overpopulation is the necessary result of capitalist production. At the same time, it is a condition for the existence of the mode of production. For the sake of its free development, capitalist production is in need of production reserves. With the existence of such reserves, the capitalists are able to exploit more employed laborers, to reduce their wages to the lowest levels, and to place them under constant threat of unemployment.

Lenin pointed out: "Since the latter part of the last century, in which the development of capitalist machine-industry brought about overpopulation, the study of political economy has been charged with the responsibility of interpreting this phenomenon. We all know that Malthus attempted to use natural, historical reasons to interpret this phenomenon, but he basically repudiated the fact that existed in the historical socio-economic system, and completely closed his eyes to the contradictions that were exposed."⁴

Writers of the classical school of Marxism-Leninism have thoroughly discussed and, from science, proved that unemployment, poverty, famine, and other miseries, suffered by the working masses in a capitalist society, are not the result of the working of the "natural," "constant" law of overpopulation, as falsely claimed by Malthus, but the result of the working of the capitalist mode of production.

For the sake of eliminating poverty, famine, unemployment, and other miseries, the working class ought to be engaged in a revolution to overthrow the old capitalist system and to establish a new socialist system. All the experiences, whether from the Soviet Union, China or other socialist countries, have unanimously proved the universality of this truth in Marxism-Leninism.

Prior to liberation, China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Because of the oppression and vindictive capitalist rule of imperialists, bureaucrats and compradores, the broad masses of the people in China, especially the peasantry, were gradually pauperized and soon became bankrupt. They lived a life without a constant supply of food and clothing.

MA Yin-ch'u showed enthusiasm in vending Malthus' reactionary theory of population and declared, "China's present-day poverty-stricken situation is entirely due to the fact that there are too many mouths to feed."⁵ According to his "advice," in order to "shake off" poverty, the policy of "moral prevention" should be adopted.⁶

But the Chinese people did not accept Ma's "prescription" based upon Malthusianism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the industrious and courageous Chinese people had completely overthrown feudalism and bureaucratic-compradore capitalism, chased away imperialism, and founded a socialist state.

Under the leadership of the Party, the liberated six hundred million Chinese people, after a ten-year struggle, altered the face of the nation. Industrial and agricultural output increased several or even several ten times over the pre-liberation period.

Upon the foundation of the uninterrupted development of production, the income of the working people has also continuously increased. Moreover, the phenomenon left by the old society has completely disappeared.

In capitalist countries, a village is usually one of the great centers of overpopulation, but in China today, because of land reform, agricultural cooperativization, people's communalization, and the great agricultural leap forward, there has not been overproductivity in the village but a shortage of it.

The commune in the village has adopted a distribution system which is the combination of the wage and supply system. For this reason, the working peasants no longer need worry about their food and clothing. In either a village or a city, all we see now are signs of prosperity and joy.

Malthusian elements have considered our population of six hundred million as a "mortal blow" to our country, but this kind of rubbishy talk has been proved bankrupt.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The immense population of China is a good thing. Even though there are signs that it will multiply several times, there still will be a way out, and the way is, of course production."⁷

The putrid, exploitative class have considered man as mere consumer, but we believe he is, primarily, a producer--the most important factor in production. Under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses of our people are capable of performing any miracle in the world.

Thus Malthus' "Essay on Population," in theory and in practice, has completely been shattered by Marxism-Leninism. Despite this, Malthusianism today has again been much publicized by the capitalist reactionary faction.

Chinese capitalist scholar Ma Yin-ch'u still insists on vending Malthus' "theory" and attacks the socialist revolution in China. The capitalist elements' thinking contradicts the course of history. No matter how madly and loudly they shout, they cannot prevent the victory of socialist and communism.

NOTES:

- 1 History of the Theory of Surplus Value, Vol. III, page 61.
- 2 Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. V, page 87.
- 3 Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. II, page 572.
- 4 Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. II, page 143.
- 5 The Quarterly of Economics, (Sept., 1936) Vol. VII, No. 3, page 64.
- 6 Ma Yin-ch'u, Economic Reform in China, The Commerical Press, 1934 ed., page 98.

7 Jen-ming Jih-pao, Sept. 17, 1949.

Sources of Malthus' quotations used in this article have not been given, and for these sources the reader is referred to a book entitled Malthus' Theory of Population, published in 1959 by the Commerical Press.

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